

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 217680
ORIGIN NODS-00

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DRAFTED BY AF/S:RMMOOSE
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O 260005Z AUG 78 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 217680

NODIS
CHEROKEE

MO. 11652:XGDS 1

TAGS: RH, UK, PDEV

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

FOR AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE ONLY
PRETORIA FOR LOW AND EDMONDSON

1. THE SUMMARY BELOW CONTAINS HIGHLY SENSITIVE INFORMATION. IT HAS BEEN PREPARED FOR YOUR USE ONLY. BRITISH AMBASSADORS/HICOMS IN PRETORIA, LUSAKA, DAR, AND LAGOS ARE BEING SIMILARLY BRIEFED BY OWEN. HOWEVER, IT IS UNCLEAR WHETHER BRITISH AMBASSADOR IN MAPUTO HAS BEEN GIVEN SIMILAR INFORMATION. NEED TO PROTECT CONFIDENTIALITY OF RE-
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 217680

CENT MOVES STEMS FROM OUR DESIRE TO RESPECT COMMITMENTS
FOR SECRECY WHICH OWEN HAS MADE TO NKOMO AND OTHERS.

2. AFTER SEVERAL MONTHS OF BRITISH EFFORT, NKOMO AND SMITH MET AUGUST 14 IN LUSAKA. PRESENT WERE GARBAWHO HAD BEEN THE PRINCIPAL INTERMEDIARY IN ARRANGING THE MEETING(WITH CONSIDERABLE UK ASSISTANCE) AND CHONA, PUNABANTU AND OTHER

ZAMBIANS. PRESIDENT KAUNDA WAS PRESENT PART OF THE TIME. NKOMO HAD INSISTED ON GARBA'S PRESENCE TO PROTECT HIMSELF FROM POTENTIAL LATER CHARGES FROM MUGABE AND OTHER FRONT LINE LEADERS (WHO WERE NOT INFORMED OF THE MEETING) OF SECRET DEAL-MAKING WITH SMITH.

3. THE MEETING WAS APPARENTLY CORDIAL, BUT DID NOT GET INTO THE SUBSTANCE OF THE MANY HARD ISSUES THAT A SETTLEMENT MUST CONFRONT. SMITH STATED THAT HE WOULD LIKE NKOMO TO RETURN TO RHODESIA TO HEAD UP THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. HE ALSO INDICATED AWARENESS THAT THE TERMS OF THE MARCH 3 SALISBURY AGREEMENT WOULD HAVE TO BE RESTRUCTURED. NKOMO REPORTEDLY TOLD SMITH THAT MUGABE SHOULD AND COULD BE BROUGHT INTO ANY AGREEMENT AND WOULD ACCEPT SECONDARY STATUS TO HIMSELF (NKOMO). ON THE BASIS OF THIS IT WAS DECIDED THAT ANOTHER MEETING WOULD BE HELD BETWEEN SMITH AND NKOMO, WITH MUGABE PRESENT. TO DATE THIS HAS NOT BEEN ARRANGED.

4. SMITH REPORTEDLY TOLD MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE OF HIS INTENTION TO MEET WITH NKOMO, BUT WE DO NOT KNOW IF HE BRIEFED THEM FOLLOWING THE LUSAKA GET-TOGETHER. TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, GARBA AND NKOMO DO NOT KNOW THAT SMITH HAS SAID ANYTHING ABOUT THE MEETING TO THE BISHOP AND SITHOLE.

5. MUGABE WAS IN LUSAKA ON APRIL 17 FOR A PF UNITY MEETING.
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 217680

ING. HE WAS FLOWN THAT EVENING TO LAGOS WHERE THE NIGERIANS DISCUSSED THE SMITH-NKOMO MEETING WITH HIM. THE NIGERIANS URGED THAT HE AND NKOMO SHOULD NEGOTIATE JOINTLY WITH SMITH, AND THAT HE SHOULD ACKNOWLEDGE NKOMO'S SUPREMACY WITHIN THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. ACCORDING TO VARIOUS REPORTS, MUGABE WAS HIGHLY RESISTANT TO BOTH IDEAS AND HIS DEFIANCE WAS BOLSTERED BY HIS ASSOCIATES TEKERE AND TONGAGARA. GARBA RETURNED TO LUSAKA WITH MUGABE AND LATER TRAVELLED TO MOZAMBIQUE AND TANZANIA TO BRING MACHEL AND NYERERE INTO THE PICTURE.

6. ON AUGUST 21 NKOMO SUGGESTED TO OWEN THAT THE FOREIGN SECRETARY SEND A MESSAGE TO NYERERE URGING HIS SUPPORT FOR THE NEGOTIATING EFFORT. OWEN WAS PREPARED TO DO THIS BUT GARBA, THEN IN DAR, RECOMMENDED AGAINST IT. ON AUGUST 22 NYERERE RAISED THE SECRET NEGOTIATIONS WITH AMBASSADOR SPAIN (WHO WAS UNAWARE OF THEM) AND EXPRESSED MISGIVINGS, LARGELY BASED ON HIS SUSPICIONS OF THE BRITISH, DISTRUST OF SMITH AND CONCERN ABOUT NIGERIAN COMPETENCE IN DEALING WITH BOTH. ON AUGUST 24, HOWEVER, HE RESPONDED GRATEFULLY TO SPAIN'S ASSURANCES THAT WHILE THE U.S. HAS NOT BEEN INTIMATELY INVOLVED IN THE DETAILS OF THE SECRET NEGOTIA-

TIONS, WE HAVE,-NEVERTHELESS, SUPPORTED THEM AS WAY OF
PAVING THE PATH TO AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING AT WHICH A COM-
PREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT BASED ON THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPO-
SALS COULD BE DEVELOPED.

7. NYERERE STATED THAT HE HAD DISPATCHED FOREIGN MINISTER
MKAPA TO MAPUTO,WHERE NKOMO AND MUGABE WERE PLANNING TO

MEET,IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE MUGABE TO JOIN NKOMO IN THE
SECRET NEGOTIATIONS WITH SMITH AND TO DEVELOP A UNIFIED
PF POSITION. GARBA HAS TOLD THE BRITISH THAT MACHEL IS
PREPARED TO WORK ON MUGABE AS WELL.

8. IT IS UNCLEAR WHETHER NKOMO AND MUGABE ARE MEETING,
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 217680

BUT IF THEY DO NOT DEVELOP A JOINT POSITION IT IS UNLIKELY
THAT NKOMO QUICKLY WILL AGREE TO ANOTHER MEETING ALONE
WITH SMITH. FAILING THAT MEETING, SMITH MAY HEDGE ON
ENCOURAGING THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, PARTICULARLY
MUZOREWA WHO IS RECALCITRANT ON THIS ISSUE, TO ATTEND AN
ALL-PARTIES MEETING. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT AN ALL-PARTIES
MEETING CAN TAKE PLACE BEFORE THE END OF AUGUST AND GIVEN
SECRETARY VANCE'S COMMITMENTS (CAMP DAVID) AND NKOMO'S
(UNSPECIFIED)A MEETING BEFORE MID-SEPTEMBER SEEMS
UNLIKELY.

9. WE WILL ENDEAVOR TO KEEP YOU BRIEFED ON DEVELOPMENTS
AS THEY OCCUR. CHRISTOPHER

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NNN

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